



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. III.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

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BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN, ALL MANKIND.

[SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1833.]

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THE LIBERATOR.

[From the Genius of Temperance.]

LETTER FROM DR. MACK.

We recommend to our readers, and espe-
cially to editors of religious newspapers, a
careful perusal of the following. They may
be assured that it expresses a feeling by no
means peculiar to the individual writer.

Northern Pennsylvania, Oct. 7, 1833.

Mr. GOODALL, I have tried to excuse my-
self this communication. But 'the voice of
my brother's blood cries from the ground,'
and compels me to express to you, by this
opportunity, the satisfaction, yea, the heartfelt
joy which I experience, from the course pur-
sued by your 'Genius'—not only in regard
to temperance and morals in general, but es-
pecially in respect to the subject of slavery.
I am glad to see this subject become a pri-
mary object of your paper; because it hinders
not that paper from being quite as efficient as
an advocate of temperance and the other vir-
tues, and because it is truly needed in the
field, where the spirit of emancipation, under
almost every discouragement but the rectitude
of her cause, is struggling against the thickly
arrayed powers of tyranny, of worldly inter-

est, of popularity, of human expediency, and
of spiritual wickedness in high places. Yes,
your paper is needed—it is needed, to arouse
us from that stupidity to which we are so
prone—it is needed to shed the light of moral
truth upon our minds, dark by nature, darker
by evil practice and evil maxims—it is needed
to counteract the poison which is emitted
by a thousand infidel presses—infidel presses!—
—it is more needed to counteract the influ-
ence of the SLAVERY influence of the RELIGIOUS
(!?) PRESSES!!

Sir, since recently awaking, more fully than
heretofore, to the cause of human liberty, I
am astonished to find the people of this part
of this State, so generally in favor of slavery,
of slavery as it is. But my wonder, as re-
spects our citizens, in a measure ceases, since
I hear them quoting the religious—not christi-
an, in this respect—papers of our city and
elsewhere. Dear sir, will you assure the edi-
tors of those papers that their labors against
emancipation are not in vain? Tell them
that their readers, the christian community,
from whom suffering humanity most reasona-
bly looks for aid, are convinced from the rea-
sonings of their editors—spiritual guides!!—
(if the blind lead the blind)—that slavery in
the abstract is a bad thing—that is, they are
convinced that slavery, as it is not, is evil;
but slavery, as it is, is good. For their
encouragement, remind them, that each rising
sun which lights them to the selection and
penning of arguments against emancipation,
lights millions of their groaning brethren to
their sufferings, in the field of toil and sweat,
and scourging and bloodshed. Remind them,
dear sir, that every day which brings to them
and us so many comforts, brings to the mil-
lions of bondmen another day of bondage, and
brings into an existence of bondage THOU-
SANDS more of our brethren—while, per-
haps, by our efforts against emancipation, one
slave may each day be colonized. Remind
those editors, that if they succeed in their
efforts against the spirit of emancipation, they
will succeed in keeping the present millions
of enslaved in that brutalized state which they
make the chief argument, as I suppose, against
their emancipation; and that on millions after
millions yet unborn, their efforts may work
their influence, and be successful in quench-
ing the light of reason, in obliterating, as far
as may be, the properties of the human soul,
and in keeping them from 'coming to Him'
who came a light into the world, that whose-
ever believeth in him may not abide in dark-
ness, but have the light of life.

Now I would ask, if it is our duty to keep
what is sometimes called temper, in view of
the stupid, anti-christian course of so many of
those who, directing the energies of the reli-
gious press, lead the mind of the christian com-
munity to espouse the cause of hell—yes,
the blackest cause of hell!! Professed min-
isters of Christ 'in palaces,' straining their low
thought to invent unreal—difficulties in the
way of the salvation of their suffering fellow-
men from the body and soul destroying influ-
ence of slavery! Sir, I feel as though these
characters should not be spared, and if I pos-
sessed an organ by which I could speak to
the world, I would 'cry aloud and spare not.'
No! let the man's standing be what it may, it
should not shield him from that exposure which
a professed follower of Jesus, compromising
with the spirit of this world, so justly merits,
and which humanity so loudly calls for. And
I would say to him, 'thou art the man!'—and
to the public, behold the man who would serve
both God and mammon—the man who on
mammon's altar offers up the liberty, happi-
ness, lives and souls of his brethren. Yes, I
would tell his name, and he should 'stand
confessed' as either too stupid to discern the
plainest principles of moral right, as the hired
'apologist for sin' who thinks and teaches that
our EXPEDIENCY had better be observed than
GOD'S LAW, or as the black-hearted fiend who
loved to fatten on the blood and tears of his
own species. Sir, I see no excuse for any
man, at present, in not advocating immediate
emancipation. And I have not—I desire not
cool blood to treat with religious editors who
are against it, either by open opposition or by
neutrality—if such a thing as neutrality is
possible. I see no place to stop—the voice
of blood cries—my brother's blood cries,
and indignant feelings glow with increased
warmth. But they have met with kindred
feelings in the bosom him I address—and with
him, I for the present leave the subject, hav-
ing already said some things I never thought
of, before commencing this communication.

Respectfully, E. MACK.
Plainsville, Luzerne Co. Pa.
* Some exceptions deserve grateful notice.—Ed.

Some of the infidel prints, in this city, we
understand are busily engaged in proving to
their readers that the 'fanatical' doctrines of
the Abolitionists are identical with the evan-
gelical doctrines of Christianity.—Success to
them. Their task is an easy one; and will
accomplish more good than they intend. They
will open the eyes of christians.—Christians
will break the fetters of the slave, and to the
Author of Christianity will redound the glory,
forever.—Amen.—Emancipator.

LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

London, Sept. —, 1833.

MY DEAR GARRISON:

You will readily allow, after the experience you
have lately had in this country, that Englishmen are
skilful adepts in the art of taxation. The fact is, it is
bred in our bone; and we should as soon think of
ceasing to be, as to cease taxing and being taxed. In
conformity, then, with constitutional habits, it is my
intention to levy a tax on you, nor shall the broad wa-
ters of the atlantic, nor your republican institutions,
nor your anti-taxation propensities, avail you aught
against the payment in full of all my demands. Be it
known, then, by these Presents, and for the reasons
which hereafter follow, that henceforth you are declar-
ed liable, and you are to consider yourself liable, to
such demands on your time and patience, as we, the
people of England may think fit to advance. My first
levy will be for ten minutes' patience. The reasons
for this you will please reduce to form from the follow-
ing statement. On Friday, the 23d inst. I was in the
good city of Ipswich, and was invited to spend the
evening with a party of christian Friends, most if not
all of whom were favorable to Elliott Cresson and his
schemes. The Patriot newspaper was in the hands of
one gentleman, containing Cresson's replies to your
queries, and his answers appeared to be generally satis-
fying to those who were present. Without know-
ing what were my opinions, I was asked by him what
I thought of the American Colonization Society? My
answer was prompt, and to the effect that it was one
of the most infamous and iniquitous institutions ever
raised to perpetuate one of the worst evils which ever
afflicted the human race—SLAVERY: that some of the
leading abolitionists of this country having now dis-
covered its true character and tendency, had solemnly
protested against it; and that every possible effort
should consequently be made by the friends of humanity
and religion here, to stay its progress, and to neutralize
the efforts of its agent. I then entered into a few de-
tails, and recommended your reply to Cresson's Jesuiti-
cal statements. The discussion led to favorable
results, and had scarcely been finished, when a gen-
tleman, one of E. Cresson's most active Committee
men, joined us, and pulling a letter out of his pocket,
said, I have received this from our friend Cresson;
he is at Bury St. Edmund's, and wishes a conveyance
to be sent thither for him; he is getting on well; he
wishes when here to have a public meeting, and says
that he intends after that to leave in a few days for the
United States. This gentleman was then let into the
secret that I had been opposing his hero, and, of
course, I had then to discuss matters with him. I had,
however, little difficulty with this worthy man, who,
after expressing his astonishment at some of my state-
ments, appeared to regret that he had not contributed
any thing towards the American slavery perpetuation
Society. The next stage in our evening's engage-
ments brought us another communication from E.
Cresson! In his impatience to enjoy the society of
his good friends and coadjutors in Norwich, he had
hastened forward that day, and was then at the Angel
Hotel, anxiously expecting his friends, with whom he
had before been in communion, to welcome him. Be-
fore that gentleman left, I urged him the importance
of holding the public meeting, engaging myself to be
present at it, without cost to the Norwich Friends, in
order that I might have an opportunity of refuting the
pretensions and mis-statements of Cresson. He, how-
ever, thought it would be inconvenient, if not impos-
sible, to do so. Several gentlemen of the party then
requested him to present their respects to E. C. and
request that he would favor them with his company
during the remainder of the evening, when we could
fairly discuss points of difference, to which I added my
great desire for the interview, but although we waited
until near midnight, he did not come; and from my
not having received any advice of the public meeting
having been held for the avowed last public effort of
that individual in this country, I suppose he was again
governed by his friends, and sheltered himself under
the unmanly, unworthy and ridiculous pretext, that
'they would not let him.' I left all the Tracts I had
with my Norwich friends, among whom we shall
henceforth have some who will exert themselves in the
cause of outraged humanity and insulted religion.

I have heard that E. Cresson still lingers on
shores—that he has been in London within these last
few days—but the particulars of his movements will
be given you hereafter.

My dear Garrison, go on in your work of Faith and
labor of Love—and though you have arrayed against
you the great and the mighty, their influence and their
gold—though you have to stem a torrent more over-
whelming than Niagara—though you have to contend
with Prejudice, that fiend of monstrous birth—whose
home is Hell—whose tender mercies are cruel—and
whose history is one of oppression and crime—of
tears and blood and murder—in dependence on Him
who is wise in counsel and excellent in working, you
shall achieve the object you have in view amidst the
congratulations of the wise, humane and good—and
the gratitude and love of the suffering and oppressed.

Yours affectionately,
[For the Liberator.]

from the British people for the objects specified in
your mission, as being there at a time when the great
question of emancipation was under full consideration;
I was led to believe that the example of the United
States would, as it did, present a stumbling block to
the execution of any plan, however well conceived or
inoffensive in practice, that might be brought forward
by the combined efforts of the good and great philan-
thropists of that country.

When the Emancipation Bill was presented to the
House of Commons of Great Britain, among the most
prominent objections urged against its passage were
those that stand forth to the everlasting shame of Sir
Robert Peel, who stated that notwithstanding ALL
THE CARE that the United States had bestowed upon
their free colored population, to elevate them to the
standing of men, and to a liberal participation in all
public preferences, they had sunk to a degree of 'de-
gradation far beyond redemption. This thing of place
doubtless drew his inferences of kindness from the far
famed meeting of New-Haven, at which the dignified
judges compromised the dignity of their stations, and
appeared to participate for the purpose of giving ef-
fect and character to its proceedings, that have not
yet ceased to reflect disgrace upon the republic; or
from a more recent version of republican kindness,
seen in the IMPRISONMENT of a pious female, for
attempting to improve the minds of colored females.
[See trial and conviction of Miss Prudence Crandall,
Canterbury, Connecticut.]

The Bill, however, contrary to the hopes of his
clients, passed the House, and penetrated the House of
Lords, in which another creature of circumstance was
to be operated upon. This thing, I suppose, was
much better paid for by his slenderous statements, in re-
gard to our free colored population than the other; for
Sir Robert's exertions seem to have ceased with the
passage of the Bill, but the former continues to perse-
cute us with his miserable 'PROTEST.' The igno-
rance manifested by the noble Duke, upon this occa-
sion, may account for the manner of representing him,
adopted by British caricaturists—which is, by placing
the head of a jackass on his shoulders.

I beg your pardon, sir, for troubling you with such
a long letter. I only wished to tell you that I am glad
you have got home safely, and to inform you that we
had a great meeting, last evening, 18th inst., for the
missionaries to take leave of the good people of our
city before they departed for Africa, with their 'cre-
dentials for civilizing and christianizing' that contin-
ent. I am somewhat in the habit of looking in at such
places, and accordingly I attended last evening with
the expectation of learning something good from Mr.
Henry Clay's 'credentialed-men.' One of the speakers
field forth until he had almost drowned the church in
tears, saying that he desired the prayers of the pray-
ing people of this beloved country. The other, who
followed, said that the brother who had preceded him,
having secured the prayers of the church, he was him-
self induced to ask a little more, which was a little
case, (which, truly, is no bad accompaniment on
such a tedious jaunt,) in redeeming Africa from her
thralldom of ignorance and stone-worship. LEO.
Philadelphia, Oct. 19, 1833.

[From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.]

'FANATICS AND INCENDIARIES.'
One of the most conclusive and convincing
arguments wielded by our opponents against
abolitionists, is the use of nicknames. It is a
very convenient method, we admit, of refuting
an antagonist, and one which is usually resorted
to by angry children and silly disputants.
The temptation to call names is too strong to
be resisted, when passion rules and reason is
dethroned. It has become quite fashionable for
the apologists of slavery and the advocates of
African colonization, to apply the epithets
'fanatics' and 'incendiaries' to those who de-
fend the precepts of the gospel, and the prin-
ciples of the declaration of independence. If
the apostle Paul were now to appear in his
proper character, in republican America, and
preach the truth with his wonted boldness,
would he not be denounced as the worst of
fanatics? If he spoke of practical righteous-
ness, of doing to others as we would wish
others to do unto us—of undoing the heavy bur-
dens and letting the oppressed go free; and
more especially, if he ventured to apply these
fundamentals of the religion he taught to the
'very delicate question' of slavery, would he
not be an 'incendiary,' a fomentor of insurrec-
tion and murder, and a disturber of the union
of the States? Such a 'pestilent fellow' ought
surely to be put down.

And what have abolitionists said or written
inconsistent with what Paul preached and the
Apostles practised? Or is it more dangerous
now to 'open our mouths for the dumb,' and
plead the cause of the widow and the father-
less, and those that have none to help them,
than it was in olden time? Alas for my coun-
try! when the soundest precepts of the Chris-
tian religion, and the plainest principles of
natural right, are denounced as fanatic and
incendiary! A country, too, loudly boasting
of civil liberty and gospel light. The judicial
blindness and Egyptian darkness that prevail
in a large portion of the community, on the
all-important subject of slavery, are ominous
of coming judgments. I tremble for my coun-
try when I reflect that God is just, and that
his justice will not sleep for ever! It is
for my country I mourn, when I see a deaf
ear turned to the voice of truth, of justice,
and humanity, and the admonitions of philan-
thropy repaid by threats, denunciations and
opprobrious epithets. We do not fear for

ourselves, or quail at the impotent abuse of
the interested and designing. The shafts of
the enemy fall harmless at our feet. Cover-
ed by the shield of innocence, and armed with
the panoply of gospel truth and republican
justice, and feeling the consciousness of in-
ward peace in the performance of an imperi-
ous duty, we fear nothing for ourselves. But
we fear for our country. We hear the distant
murmurs of Divine displeasure, at the ac-
cumulated wrongs which the American peo-
ple are heaping upon the descendants of Af-
rica. We see the sombre clouds of his indig-
nation ready to burst upon us. We feel the
deliberate conviction that the justice of hea-
ven will not sleep for ever; and that the day
of retribution and righteous inquisition for the
innocent blood we have caused to be shed, is
drawing near. And yet when the warning
voice is raised, when the people are called
upon to beware of the dangers which threaten
them, and the means of averting the judg-
ments which are hanging over the country
are pointed out, the hue and cry is raised
against the messengers of good to the nation,
and they are stigmatised as 'FANATICS AND
INCENDIARIES.'

But let 'the wicked rage, and the heathen
imagine vain things,' it shall not divert us from
our purpose. Our duty is imperative. Our
country may yet be saved. The remedy for
the evils which threaten us is easy and simple.
It consists in doing justly and loving mercy.
It is for this we plead. It is for this we will
continue to labor. And whether our coun-
trymen will receive or reject our council, it is
this only that can save us from the evil to
come. It is this only that can avert the
impending judgments of heaven, preserve
unimpaired the blessings we enjoy, and se-
cure the harmony and union of the States.

STUART'S LETTER.

It is hardly necessary for us to call the attention of
our readers to this production, which we have taken
from the columns of the Liberator. The name of
CHARLES STUART has become so intimately associ-
ated with the cause of philanthropy, both in Europe
and America, that the productions of his pen are
sought after by the friends of humanity, with feelings
of no ordinary interest.

The letter which we copy to-day is full of truth,
and 'no spirit stirring, in every sentence, that who-
ever can read it with indifference, must be considered as
devoid of patriotism, natural affection, and moral
principle. It is a matter of gratulation to the 'friends
of the black man,' in this country, that the cause has
so many kindred spirits in Old England; and espe-
cially, that the sternness of moral honesty reigns in so
many hearts, that the false pretensions, dissimulation,
and base fabrications of leading Colonizationists are at
once detected and exposed. How the advocates of
Colonization can flatter themselves, that their utopian
enterprise will succeed, or that they shall convince
the incredulous, that their scheme is sound and philan-
thropic, while at the same time, they resort to sophis-
try and misrepresentation for its support, is, to us,
wholly unaccountable. We are not among those, who
hold to the 'Godwin principle,' that the end sanctifies
and justifies the means; and those who adopt mani-
festly wicked measures to further their own schemes,
afford convincing proof, that they are engaged in a
bad cause.

When, however, we speak of Colonizationists, let
us not, by any means, be understood as impugning
the motives of all who are ranked among the ad-
vocates of that system. No; there are still honest men
among Colonizationists, as well as among Abolitionists;
and honest men will yet be convinced, and constrained
to take right ground. Such men, in numerous in-
stances have already practically evinced the verity of
this sentiment. The eyes of others are yet to be open-
ed; and others still are yet to view things as they are,
who now 'see men as trees walking.' But, when we
use the language of crimination, we wish to apply it
to those only, who are obstinately ignorant, or else act
in opposition to their own convictions of truth and
duty; and there is no one but what knows better, than to
make such false and groundless representations as are
exposed and contradicted in Charles Stuart's Commu-
nication to Arthur Tappan.—N. E. Telegraph.

[From Poulson's American Daily Advertiser.]

Mr. POULSON—Will some of your corres-
pondents be good enough to inform a friend
of Abolition of Slavery, whether a law was
not passed some years since in Louisiana,
making it penal to remove slaves from other
states, for the purpose of selling them within
its territory; and likewise if it has been re-
pealed or suspended. An important matter,
now on the carpet in another state, demands
the information, and if the fact is, as I ap-
prehend, much good can be effected by its pro-
mulgation. Many desperadoes are now en-
gaged, I understand, purchasing negroes in
Virginia, with a view of making a large profit
in New-Orleans. An immediate answer, from
some gentleman familiar with the laws of the
State referred to, will be gratefully appreci-
ated.

CLARKSON.

A remarkable omission.—The published re-
ports of the Colonization meeting, omit some
of the most important sentiments contained
in the speeches; as, for instance, the declara-
tion of Mr. Frelinghuysen that 'nine tenths of
the horrors of slavery are mere imaginary evils.'
Why this omission? If the statement be a
good one, why not publish it? If a bad one,
why not retract it? Why give a story at the
meeting which it would not do to record in
black and white? Is it proper to raise money
for 'many Southerners,' for the Colonization
Society, by a public speech so much in the
nature of an apology for slavery, that it would
not do to let it go before the eyes of our un-
sophisticated fellow citizens of the northern in-
terior?—Gen. of Temperance.

BOSTON.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1833.

Great Anti-Colonization Meeting in Exeter Hall, London.

A public meeting was held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Saturday, July 13, 1833, for the purpose of exposing the real character and objects of the American Colonization Society. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN commenced the business by remarking:—

The object of the present meeting is to give an exposition of the real character and design of the American Colonization Society. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the representative of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, will address the meeting, and furnish it with information on the subject. He is a man very highly recommended and esteemed by the respectable part of the community in his own country, and is devoting the whole of his time to the great object of effecting the emancipation of the American slaves.

It is probably well known to the majority of the meeting, that an agent of the American Colonization Society has been collecting money in this country, which money he has obtained by declaring that its great object was the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—the ultimate extinction of slavery in the United States, and the civilization of Africa.

Now, notwithstanding these misrepresentations have been exposed, within a very short period, a meeting has been held by this individual, in which he has had the countenance of one of the blood royal; and it therefore becomes necessary to take a more public method of exposing the fallacy of his statements.

The American Colonization Society was avowedly established with the single object of colonizing the free people of color in Africa, or such other place as Congress might direct. It is, therefore, not confined in sending them to Africa, in order that they may civilize those regions, (and with their own consent, as it proposed to do,) but, on the contrary, they are to be sent to such other place as Congress may direct. Nor is its object the abolition of slavery; for Mr. Randolph, in a speech which he delivered at its formation, said:—“So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, it would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.”

Now, those who are acquainted with the nature of slavery, know that it can exist only where men are scarce, and where land is plentiful. As the population of any country multiplies, it will be utterly impossible to continue slavery. It is not necessary for me to state here, that, in this country, even if the law permitted it, slavery could not exist. We know that in many cases, parishes in this country are paying considerable sums, in order to send away the population. Now, if the people are of no saleable value, but, on the contrary, the country will give sums of money to get quit of them, slavery cannot exist. An increase of slave population, or any article of general consumption, will lessen its value; and in the case of slaves, it will depreciate them till they are worth nothing.

It was, therefore, in the contemplation of the arrival of this state of things in America, that the slave-owners there became alarmed. They saw the rapid increase of the American slave population; they saw that in South America, the same circumstance was producing the effect which the beneficent Creator intended it should—namely, that it should bring slavery to its natural death; and they perceived that a similar result would be brought about in North America. But to prevent the beneficent ordination of Heaven from taking effect, (and which some of the speakers connected with the Colonization Society, have called ‘a deplorable catastrophe,’ to prevent the emancipation of the slaves, and their consequent incorporation with the general body of the community, the impious contrivers of the Colonization scheme had brought their plans into operation, and in the language of one of the Society’s distinguished supporters, they have ‘opened a drain to take off the excess of increase beyond the occasion of profitable employment.’ What can this language mean? To take from a country a hundredth part of its population, because they cannot find them profitable employment, would be perfectly ridiculous. It is quite true, that they cannot find profitable employment for their slaves; but it is equally true, that if they were increased a hundred fold, they would find profitable employment for themselves as free men.

It is known to most persons present, that the enactments against emancipation, and against every sort of instruction and improvement of the slaves, are more severe in the United States than in any other country whatever. And what, I would ask, has the American Colonization Society done to remove these laws? Nothing, nothing whatever! To talk about civilizing Africa, while they do not attempt to improve the condition of the slaves at home, is a perfect absurdity. If they had ever intended to effect the emancipation of the slaves, they would have led the way by preparing them for the enjoyment of freedom.

In Louisiana, the punishment of death is annexed to the attempt to instruct and improve the slave population. (Hear, hear.) Are these the people, who are looking to emancipation as their ultimate object? Far from it!

Let us see the effect which the Society has produced. In the year 1790, there were 50,000 free blacks in America. Emancipation was then going on with considerable rapidity, and feelings were cherished then, similar to those entertained in South America, and various other places; so that in 1810, the number had augmented to 180,000. Had emancipation got on in the same ratio, the ensuing 20 years, there ought to have been 584,000 free blacks; but when the census of 1830 was made up, we found the number to be only 319,000; and, consequently, owing to some change of feeling in America, there are 265,000 negroes now left in slavery, who would otherwise have been set free. Now it is a singular fact, that during the last 20 years, the American Colonization Society has been in operation.

So far from the Society having endeavored to remove the prejudice which exists against

the free people of color, it has done every thing it could to strengthen it; for it has said that nothing could cure it—that even religion itself could not overcome it. We may therefore reasonably say, that instead of its pursuing the objects it is represented to have in view,—instead of its seeking the abolition of slavery,—it has been a very important means of holding 265,000 of our fellow beings in bondage, who might otherwise have been free.

The Chairman concluded by reading the following letter from THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq. to Mr. GARRISON, apologizing for his absence:

54, DEVONSHIRE-STREET, July 12, 1833.
MY DEAR SIR,—I must trouble you with a line to excuse my non-appearance at the meeting to-morrow. The fact is, critical as has been the state of our great question often before, perhaps never was it so critical as now. My mind is intensely occupied, and every moment of my time so full, that I should be sacrificing my duty to this paramount object if I allowed anything else, however pressing and interesting, to divert me from it at this, the crisis of its fate. But you know my complete unity in the objects of your meeting, to which I most cordially wish all success. My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr. Cropper, when he termed its objects diabolical. Nor will you doubt my concurrence in the efforts of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, or any Anti-Slavery Society in the world.

Wishing you, therefore, all success, and entreating you to tell your countrymen, on your return, that we in England are all for the Anti-Slavery, not for the Colonization people, I am, my dear sir, with real esteem,
Yours respectfully, T. F. BUXTON.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in announcing Mr. GARRISON to the meeting, said:—Will you permit me to say that Mr. GARRISON is the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, an infant association formed for the entire extinction of slavery throughout the United States? He is a delegate from that Society to England, for the purpose of holding communication with the leading abolitionists of our own country. It is hoped that when we have witnessed the extinction of the last fragment of slavery in our own Colonies, England will not be reluctant in co-operating with the inhabitants of America in promoting the great cause of universal emancipation.

Mr. GARRISON then stood forward, and was received with loud applause. He spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN—It is long since I sacrificed all my national, complexional and local prejudices upon the altar of Christian love, and, breaking down the narrow boundaries of a selfish patriotism, inscribed upon my banner this motto:—*My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind.* (Cheers.) It is true, in a geographical sense, I am now in a foreign territory; but still it is a part of my country. I am in the midst of strangers; but still surrounded by my countrymen. There must be limits to civil governments and national domains. There must be names to distinguish the natural divisions of the earth, and the dwellers thereon. There must be varieties in the form, color, stature, and condition of mankind. All these may exist, not only without injury, but with the highest possible advantage. But whenever they are made the boundaries of human disinterestedness, friendship, sympathy, honor, patriotism and love, they are as execrable and destructive, as, otherwise, they are beautiful and preservative.

Nowhere, I am certain, will a more united response be given to these sentiments, than in this Hall, and by those who are assembled on the present occasion. (Hear.) What exclamation have you put into the mouth of the African captive, kneeling in his chains with his face turned imploringly heavenward? It is this—the most touching, the most irresistible:—*AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?* Yes! though black as murky night—though born on a distant shore—though degraded, miserable and enslaved—though ranked among the beasts of the field—still, *A MAN AND A BROTHER!* (Cheers.) Noblest device of humanity!—Wherever, in all time, a human being pines in personal thralldom, the tones of that talismanic appeal uttered by him shall be swiftly borne by the winds of heaven over the whole earth, and stir up the humane, the brave, the honorable, the good, for his rescue; for the strife of freedom is no longer local, but blows are now struck for the redemption of the world. And glorious is the prospect before us. Wherever we turn our eyes, we see the earth quaking, and hear thunders uttering their voices. The GENIUS OF EMANCIPATION is visible in every clime, and at its trumpet-call the dead slaves of all nations are starting into life, shaking off the dust of the tomb, and presenting an immortal beauty through the power of a mighty resurrection. (Applause.)

Sir, I have crossed the Atlantic on an errand of mercy, to plead for perishing millions, and to discharge, in behalf of the abolitionists of the United States, a high moral obligation which is due to the British public. It would neither be modest nor proper for me, on this occasion, to make a parade of the sacrifices of time, of money, of health, or of labor, I have made—nor of the perils I have risked, or the persecutions encountered, or the sufferings endured, since I first stood forth as the advocate of my enslaved countrymen,—not to banish them from their native land, nor to contend for their emancipation by a slow, imperceptible process, ‘half way between now and never,’—but to demand their instant emancipation, and their recognition as brethren and countrymen. (Cheers.) I shall make no such lachrymatory display of my losses and crosses in this holy cause; although, perhaps, I could give as long a list, and summon as many witnesses, and present as strong claims upon your sympathy and regard, as the agent of the American negro shippers in this country; for I know that in all things I come short, and I pour contempt upon all that I have endured for righteousness’ sake. Whatever may have been the trials and dangers experienced by that agent, they are such only as attend a popular cause. His friends and supporters in the United States are as numerous as the oppressors and despisers of the colored population—constituting the great, the wealthy, the powerful, as well as the inferior classes. When he shall have stood forth, almost single-handed, for a series of years, against, and in the midst of a nation of oppressors, and been branded with every epithet that malice could invent or ingenuity apply, and incarcerated in the cell of a prison, and had large rewards offered for his destruction by private combinations and legislative bodies, for his advocacy of

the cause of negro emancipation; he may then, I think you will all agree, with far greater propriety urge his claims upon your sympathy, than while he is receiving the puffs and compliments of a great and popular party in his own country. I cherish not the least personal animosity toward that gentleman. I am sure that I can heartily forgive him as often as he wrongs me.

Sorry am I for his own sake—sorry for the sake of the cause of truth—that the health of Mr. Cresson, according to his own statement, disqualifies him from meeting me in a public discussion of the principles and operations of his darling scheme, although it enables him to hold *ex parte* meetings in favor of that scheme, *ad libitum*; nay, more—he can even take the lead publicly in the formation of a British Colonization Society, and make a long speech, (although it is declared that it has no connexion with the American Colonization Society,) at the very moment he assigns his utter physical inability as a reason why he cannot hold a discussion with me, or with my gifted and eloquent friend, George Thompson, Esq. (Hear, hear!) He has my best wishes for the complete restoration of his health.

Mr. Cresson says he deprecates an angry discussion. So do I. Whichever of the disputants loses his temper, he will certainly be the sufferer. He has not been called by me to an angry discussion, but to a candid, magnanimous and calm discussion.

Mr. Cresson is constantly descending, in the most lugubrious and pathetic manner, both publicly and privately, respecting the persecution and abuse which he has received in almost every part of England. In one of his speeches at Edinburgh, he declared that ‘when he should be restored to his own country, he should reflect that in Scotland he found kindness, and in Scotland only.’ And is this, Mr. Chairman, his return for the kind hospitality and the liberal assistance which have been extended to him by the people of England? Having fed at their tables, secured their confidence, and obtained their money, is the end of his career to be marked by the addition of insult to injury? (Hear!) He has published to the world the invective charge that ‘in Scotland only,’ has he found kindness; but dare he venture again into Scotland? Is he willing to return to Edinburgh, and once more test the kindness of its enlightened inhabitants? I make him an offer—I will go with him to that beautiful city, and, although he has the advantage over me by a pre-occupancy of the ground, if in one week I do not secure ten supporters to his one, I will instantly leave this country. But no—he will not return: his health, if no other cause, will keep him in exile from his Edinburgh friends!

Sir, who are Elliott Cresson’s persecutors? Against whom has he brought the charge of bearing malice in their hearts toward him? Sure I am that the mention of their names will excite the smiles of this assembly. Excite their smiles, did I say? Let me rather say, their strongest indignation! Who has given the noblest proofs of his devotion to the cause of negro emancipation—whose time, and talents, and wealth, are all consecrated to the destruction of slavery—who is conferring upon this meeting the honor of presiding as chairman—JAMES CROPPER is one of Mr. Cresson’s persecutors! (Cheers.) And who does Mr. Cresson next brand with the epithet *persecutor*? That most eminent and most venerable philanthropist, whose merits transcend the language of eulogy—ZACHARY MACAULAY is a persecutor! Whose name comes next on his criminal calendar? A name that cannot die—a name around which cluster the best associations of philanthropy and true greatness—THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON! And Mr. Cresson, on the principles which govern his conduct, may now rank among his persecutors another noble spirit, whose fame is as widely diffused as the air of heaven,—WILLIAM WILBERFORCE; for he regards the doctrines and operations of the American Colonization Society as corrupt, proscriptive and disastrous. (Cheers.) I had a long and delightful interview with him, a few days since, at Bath; and he assured me that, although from the glowing representations which had been made to him respecting the flourishing condition of Liberia, he had been led to express his gratification at its success; yet he repeatedly told Mr. Cresson that he could hold no fellowship with that unchristian principle of the American Colonization Society which seemed to be a fundamental one—namely, that the whites and blacks could never live on terms of amity and equality in the United States.

I hold in my hand a paper, containing some queries which were dictated by Mr. WILBERFORCE, and taken down by his son in my presence, to which he wishes distinct replies. These I will read, by your permission:

1. How far has Mr. Elliott Cresson made use of Mr. Wilberforce’s name? Has he merely stated that Mr. Wilberforce approved of the colony as calculated to benefit Africa; or has he said that Mr. Wilberforce approves of the principle of the Society—namely, that the blacks ought to be removed for the advantage of America, as well as for their own?

2. Did Mr. Cresson (aware that it must be considered as the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society, that there is a difficulty, amounting to a moral impossibility, in the blacks and whites living together in prosperity and harmony, as members of the same free community) make it clear to those to whom he professed to state Mr. Wilberforce’s sentiments, that the two classes might and ought to LIVE TOGETHER, as one mutually connected and happy society?

3. Has Mr. Elliott Cresson made it publicly known in England, that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that colonization ought to be a *sine qua non* of emancipation?

Let Mr. Cresson answer these questions. In reply to the two last, I will venture to assert that he has never made it publicly known, either that Mr. WILBERFORCE maintained that the whites and blacks might and ought to live together as one mutually connected and happy society, or that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that colonization ought to be a *sine qua non* of emancipation; and, consequently, that he has, in these two instances, if in no others, grossly deceived the British public. In the United States, Mr. WILBERFORCE is constantly quoted as the supporter of the American Colonization Society.

There yet remains another champion of the negro race, who though named the last is not the least, and whom, I have the strongest faith to believe, Mr. Cresson may very shortly rank

among his persecutors—I allude to THOMAS CLARKSON. (Hear, hear.) It is true, this venerable philanthropist has expressed his approbation of the American Colonization Society. Why has he done so? Recollect that he is now totally blind, and hence he is compelled to take many things upon trust. That Mr. Cresson has imposed upon his generous confidence is evident from these two facts:—The American Colonization Society (as I shall show before I close my remarks) has from its organization disclaimed any intention of seeking emancipation, either directly or indirectly—either immediate or gradual. And yet the excellent CLARKSON, in his letter of December 1st, 1831, addressed to Mr. Cresson, makes this declaration:

‘This Society seems to me to have two objects in view—first, TO ASSIST IN THE EMANCIPATION OF ALL THE SLAVES NOW IN THE UNITED STATES; and, secondly, by sending these to Africa, to do away the slave trade, and promote civilization among the natives there.’

But the deception ends not here. The Secretary of the American Colonization Society copied a large portion of Mr. CLARKSON’S letter into its organ, the African Repository; but, instead of giving Mr. CLARKSON’S own words as to his views of the objects of the Society, he makes an entirely new version of Mr. CLARKSON’S language—thus:

‘He [Clarkson] considers the object of the Society twofold; first, TO PROMOTE THE VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION TO AFRICA OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES; and second, the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of the African tribes.’—African Repository for November, 1832.

Here, then, is palpably a double fraud—first, on the part of Mr. Cresson, and next on the part of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society. The motive for garbling Mr. CLARKSON’S letter in the United States, was unquestionably to prevent an impression in the slaveholding States that the Society was designed to promote the abolition of slavery. I will only add that the detection of this fraud has created the utmost indignation in the United States, and lost the Society many of its supporters.

Mr. Chairman, I will not stop to dwell upon the singular modesty and good sense of an individual who converts the well grounded opposition of great and good men to the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society, into a persecution of his own person. Mr. Cresson is a respectable gentleman, but he vastly overrates his own dignity and importance, in supposing that he is an object of persecution.

Sir, we will lose sight of that gentleman, and come directly to the object of this meeting, viz. a delineation of American slavery and the American Colonization.

I cherish as strong a love for the land of my nativity as any man living. I am proud of her civil, political and religious institutions—of her high advancement in science, literature and the arts—of her general prosperity and grandeur. But I have some solemn accusations to bring against her.

I accuse her of insulting the majesty of heaven with the grossest mockery that was ever exhibited to man—inasmuch as, professing to be the land of the free and the asylum of the oppressed, she falsifies every profession, and shamelessly plays the tyrant.

I accuse her, before all nations, of giving an open, deliberate and base denial to her boasted Declaration, that ‘all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’

I accuse her of disfranchising and proscribing nearly half a million free people of color, acknowledging them not as countrymen, and scarcely as rational beings, and seeking to drag them thousands of miles across the ocean on a plea of benevolence, when they ought to enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities of American citizens.

I accuse her of suffering a large portion of her population to be lacerated, starved and plundered, without law and without justification, at the will of petty tyrants.

I accuse her of trafficking in the bodies and souls of men, in a domestic way, to an extent nearly equal to the foreign slave trade; which traffic is equally atrocious with the foreign, and almost as cruel in its operations.

I accuse her of legalizing, on an enormous scale, licentiousness, fraud, cruelty and murder.

I accuse her of the horrid crime of kidnapping one hundred thousand infants annually, the offspring of slave parents.

I accuse her of stealing the liberties of two millions of the creatures of God, and withholding the just recompense of their labor; of ruthlessly invading the holiest relations of life, and cruelly separating the dearest ties of nature; of denying these miserable victims necessary food and clothing for their perishable bodies, and light and knowledge for their immortal souls; of tearing the husband from his wife, the mother from her babe, and children from their parents, and of perpetrating upon the poor and needy every species of outrage and oppression.

And, finally, I accuse her of being callously indifferent to the accumulated and accumulating wrongs and sufferings of her black population, assiduous in extenuating her oppressive acts, and determined to slumber upon the brink of a volcano which is in full operation, and which threatens to roll its lava tide over the whole land.

These are my allegations. And what is the defence which she puts forth? It is even as one has said, who never speaks upon the subject of liberty but he ‘showers words of weight and fire’—I mean the distinguished and eloquent O’CONNELL. (Cheers.) In one of his speeches, he thus alludes to the miserable defence of the United States for their robberies and crimes:

‘I come now to America, the boasted land of freedom, and here I find the slavery which they not only tolerate but extend, justified and defended as a legacy left them by us!—It is too true. But I would say to them—You threw off the allegiance you owed to us because you thought we were oppressing you with the Stamp Act. You boasted of your deliverance from slavery. On what principle, then, do you continue to hold your fellow men in bondage, and render that bondage even more galling by ringing in the ears of the sufferers from your tyranny, what you have done, what you have suffered for freedom?’ They may reply by referring to the slavery we have established and encouraged. But what would be thought of that man

who should attempt to justify the crime of sheep-stealing, by alleging that another stole sheep too? Would such a defence be listened to? O, no! And I will say unto you, freemen of America—and the press will convey it to you almost as swift as the winds—that God understands you; that you are hypocrites, tyrants, and unjust men; that you are degraded and dishonored—and I say unto you, dare not to stand up boasting of your liberties and your privileges, while you continue to treat men, redeemed by the same blood, as the mere creatures of your will; for while you do so, there is a stain upon your national escutcheon which all the waters of the Atlantic cannot wash out.’ ‘Of all men living, an American citizen who is the owner of slaves is the most despicable; he is a political hypocrite of the very worst description.’ ‘The friends of humanity and liberty in Europe should join in one universal cry of Shame on the American slaveholders! Base wretches, dare you profane the temple of national freedom, and the sacred face of republican rites, with the presence and the sufferings of human beings in chains and slavery!’ (Cheers.)

Sir, never was a more just and fearless rebuke given to a guilty nation, ‘Faithful are the wounds of a friend,’ and ‘open rebuke is better than secret love.’ Whatever responsibility may attach to Great Britain for the introduction of slavery into the United States, (and to talk of robbery and kidnapping as things that may be entailed is precious absurdity,) the first moment the people of the United States published their Declaration of Independence to the world, from that moment they became exclusively accountable for the existence and continuance of negro slavery. The capital stock of slaves, at that period, was about 400,000. It has been traded upon until it now numbers about 2,200,000—an increase of more than five fold! And yet America has the brazen assurance to declare that England alone is answerable for the servitude and destruction of this immense multitude. I blush to publish the story.

The American Union originally consisted of thirteen States—it has at the present time twenty-four States, twelve of which are free States, and twelve slaveholding States. Slavery, therefore, is consolidated in the southern portion of the country. The laws which are now in force, for the subjection of the slave population, are unparalleled for their brutality. Draco’s bloody code was as white as snow in comparison. Even the West Indian enactments are less despotic. But, as in the case of the Israelites in Egypt, the more our slaves are afflicted, the more they multiply and grow. Their increase is more rapid than even that of our white population; and in half of the slave States, the soil is so completely exhausted, and the market is so glutted, that slave labor is almost wholly worthless, and the planters are enabled to support themselves only by breeding slaves for sale in the extreme southern markets. Early alarmed at the frightful increase of the slave population, and at their great depreciation in value, the planters adopted the language and policy of Pharaoh—and they said one unto another, ‘Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens.’ The Egyptian Pharaoh, finding to his astonishment that his excessive cruelty produced an opposite effect from that which was intended, resorted to another expedient. He charged the Hebrew midwives, and all his people, saying, ‘Every son that is born of the Hebrew women ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.’ The American Pharaohs, equally surprised at the prolific result of their cruelty, interrogated each other in the language of Mr. Archer of Virginia, as published in the 15th Annual Report of the American Colonization Society:

‘What course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans and the Helots? Or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? Or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided, and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment! This might be done effectually by extension of the policy of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand!’

We now come to the origin of the American Colonization Society. The motives, it seems, for its organization, were:—1st. To prevent a general emancipation and incorporation of the blacks with the whites—2d. To render unnecessary the abandonment of the country by the masters—3d. To render the slave system secure and lucrative—and lastly, To remove from the country ‘those mirrors which reflect the light of liberty into the dark bosoms of the slaves’—namely, the free people of color.

Whence did the scheme of the American Colonization Society originate? Brings it ‘airs from heaven, or blasts from hell?’ Are its intents ‘wicked or charitable?’ It is a creature that was born in secrecy and in darkness, in the Legislature of Virginia—a State which holds nearly half a million of human beings in slavery—the Jamaica of the United States; and that Legislature, in its benevolence toward the free colored and slave population, has ever since been enacting the most atrocious laws for the utter expulsion of the one, and the oppression of the other class. It is the foulest conspiracy in the history of the world.

Now, Mr. Chairman, having seen that the monster was conceived in sin, and shapen in iniquity, let us briefly enquire where and by whom was the American Colonization Society instituted, and who are its Managers.

It was formed at the close of the year 1816, in Washington city, and is principally managed by the plunderers and oppressors of their fellow men. Not a slave, since its organization, has been emancipated by any of its managers, and sent to Liberia. At the first annual meeting of the Society, General Mercer of Virginia, one of its Vice Presidents, said:—‘Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained from manumitting their slaves, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction that they cannot

* NOTE. Mr. Garrison was here interrupted by the entrance of DANIEL O’CONNELL, Esq. into the Hall, who was greeted by deafening and long continued thunders of applause.

to the suggestions of humanity, without the slightest injury to their country!! So! the claims of humanity and the true interests of the country are at war, and the latter are to be sacrificed to the destruction of the former!—mark the conduct of this canting disseminator and hardened oppressor!—More than fifty years have elapsed since that speech was made, and yet none of Gen. Mercer's slaves have been manumitted, although opportunities have been constantly given to him to send them to Liberia, and have them changed into free rate missionaries in the twinkling of an eye. And yet Mr. Elliott Cresson has actually the audacity to trumpet his praise in this country as 'the Wilberforce of the American Colonization Society!' (Hear! hear!) Nay, more—the same distinguished oppressor, who is the pillar of the American Colonization Society, recently declared in Congress that 'the abolition of slavery was no object of desire to me, unless accompanied by colonization.' So that he was from desiring it, unaccompanied by any condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other!! He can live most happily in a State, where one half of whose population are slaves; and if slavery should be abolished, he would abandon his country! And yet, in the estimation of Mr. Elliott Cresson, he is 'the Wilberforce of the American Colonization Society!'—Nay, we have not yet come to the climax. During the famous Missouri struggle in 1819, it is said Gen. Mercer was carried into Congress, at his desire, upon a sick bed, in order that he might give his vote for the admission of a new State into the American Union! And it was through his influence (in conjunction with Henry Clay, another pillar of the American Colonization Society) that a majority was obtained in Congress; and thus a new territory was opened for the surplus slave population of his native State. The State of Missouri covers a surface of more than 60,000 square miles; and the man who was instrumental in opening this vast territory for the sale and enslavement of his fellow countrymen, without limitation, and thus raising the value of slaves in all the slave States, is styled by Mr. Elliott Cresson 'the Wilberforce of the American Colonization Society!' Was ever a greater aspersion cast upon that venerable name by the enemies of the abolition of the slave trade? (Hear!) The hardihood of the act is equalled only by that of the Managers of the American Colonization Society, who sent over to England by Mr. Cresson, a portrait of its first President, Joshua Washington, (who was a slave-breeder, and from whose plantations slaves were sold and driven off in chains to the Mississippi,) suggesting that it might be hung up at No. 18, Aldermanbury, by the side of the venerable Clarkson's!—Wilberforce compared to an avowed slaveholder, who successfully extended himself to open a new market for slaves! for the prosecution of that infernal traffic which he had spent the best energies of his life in seeking to destroy! And Clarkson associated with a negro breeder, who speculated in human flesh and sinews!! The insult is not merely a personal insult—it is an insult to the British nation; (cheers)—it is an insult to the virtuous and humane throughout the world! (Great cheering.)

Mr. Chairman, what is the object of the American Colonization Society?—Mr. Cresson says it is 'the final and entire abolition of slavery.' I think I shall be able to prove, in three minutes, that this assertion is as far from the truth as the east is from the west. Of course, the object of every Society is defined in its Constitution. First of all, then, let us listen to the Constitution of the American Colonization Society. Its 2d Article is as follows:—

The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

Here, surely, is not the remotest allusion either to colonizing emancipated slaves, or to the abolition of slavery, as an object of the Society. On the contrary, it is confined exclusively to the removal of the free people of color. But as the Society has been in existence more than sixteen years, it is possible that it has changed its Constitution. What says the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Society for the year 1835:—

Resolved, That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original constitution, viz: 'to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient'; and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

Is not this evidence sufficient to convict Mr. Cresson of deception?

These and a hundred other similar declarations, Mr. Cresson has seen repeatedly, and yet he publicly declares in this country that one of the objects of the American Colonization Society is the abolition of slavery in the United States! Judge ye of his uprightness.

Surely it is not wonderful that a Society originating in a slaveholding State—formed by slaveholders—managed by slaveholders—pledge itself not to agitate the question of negro slavery, or seek its removal. It would be almost a miracle, were it otherwise.

Nor is it wonderful that the Society should denounce abolitionists as madmen, fanatics and incendiaries;—nor that they should utter atrocious slanders against the free people of color, in order to justify the detention in bondage of two millions of slaves, and to make genuine philanthropists in continuing to plunder and oppress the poor and needy;—nor that they should invent and reiterate the stupid fiction that Africa is the native country of American born citizens, to make their expulsion a plausible act;—nor that they should applaud those diabolical laws which forbid the instruction of the slaves, which prevent the improvement of the free blacks, which make expulsion the condition of emancipation, and which grind to the dust one-sixth part of the whole American population.

Nor is it wonderful that the Society should compass sea and land to make proselytes, and send over to England Mr. Elliott Cresson to shape your philanthropy, in order to expel the

free people of color, since their expulsion would soothe the fears of the oppressors, increase the value of the slaves, and place unlimited power in the hands of those who are given over to hardness of heart and blindness of mind, and to whom the fearful description of the apostle emphatically applies:—'Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful: who knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.' Here is a development of motives!

'So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.'—[Speech of John Randolph at the first meeting of the Colonization Society.]

'What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet the folly of the condition held to involuntary labor, finds always allurement, in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery. The slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but for the free black.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 25.]

'By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their communication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 176.]

'But it is not certain, that should the people of the southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave untouched a system, for the termination of which, we think the whole wisdom and energy of the States should be put in requisition, that they will contribute more effectually TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised.' . . . 'In the decision of these individuals, as to the effects of the Colonization Society, we perceive no error of judgment: OUR OPINION IS THE SAME AS THEIRS. WE CAN UNITE WITH THEM TO EFFECT THEIR OBJECT.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 227.]

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 202.]

Here, then, it is unblushingly avowed, on the part of the Society, that the best mode to continue and strengthen the bloody slave system is to remove to Africa the free black population, and that it can heartily unite with the slave owners to effect that brutalizing, soul-destroying, heaven-daring object! Justly, Mr. Chairman, have you described it as 'a most diabolical scheme'—justly have you declared that 'never did Satan with more success transform himself into an angel of light, than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.' And yet the persecuted Mr. Elliott Cresson insists that the primary object of the Society is, THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY! Thus he has acquired a temporary success in this country, which has been trumpeted over the United States by the African Repository, and other periodicals.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, it is not wonderful that such a combination as the American Colonization Society should defy prejudice, proclaim eternal hostility against the free people of color, discourage their improvement, deride the power of the gospel, trample under foot the precepts of the Saviour, insult the Holy Spirit, and blaspheme the God who made the heavens and the earth, and formed of one blood all nations of men. But it is enough to chill the blood of a Christian to read sentiments like these:

'In every part of the United States there is a broad, and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable.'—[African Repository, vol. iv. p. 118.]

'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed: it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we nor they, can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be forever debased; more than this, they must be forever useless; more even than this, they must be forever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. And yet they, and they only, are qualified for colonizing Africa.'—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 276.]

'Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of color must, in this country, remain for ages, probably forever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor Christianity can remove?'—[African Repository, vol. vii. p. 195.]

'The Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation, to any considerable extent as a class, in this country,—which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power. Christianity will not do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity; but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 17.]

Thus do the supporters of the Colonization Society (constituting an overwhelming majority of the nation) glory in their shame, and resolve that neither God nor man shall ever induce them to treat their colored countrymen otherwise than as the offscouring of the earth, so long as they refuse to be transported to Africa. Thus do they darily palm their sins upon the Infinite Jehovah, whose tender mercies are over all his works, and maintain that a physical distinction makes it morally impossible for them to do justly and love mercy. This is something worse than paganism!

Mr. Chairman, my soul sickens in turning over these masses of moral corruption, and I hasten to a close. I cannot boast, like Mr. Cresson, of defraying my own expenses; for he is opulent, and I am poor. All that I have is dedicated to this cause. But I am proud to say that the funds for my mission to this country were principally made up by the voluntary contributions of my free colored brethren, at a very short notice. (Great cheering.) I stand before you as their mouth-piece, and with their blessings resting upon my head. Persecuted, derided, yet noble people! never can I repay generosity and love like theirs.

Sir, I am sorry to trespass a moment longer upon this meeting, but I beg a brief indulgence that I may discharge an act of justice toward that persecuted class. You have heard them described this day by the American Colonization Society, as the most abandoned wretches on the face of the earth—as constituting all that is vile, loathsome and dangerous as being more degraded and miserable than the slaves. Sir, it is not possible for the mind to coin, or the tongue to utter, baser libels against an injured people. Their condition is as much superior to that of the slaves, as the light of heaven is more cheering than the darkness of the pit. (Cheers.) Many of their number are in the most affluent circumstances, and distinguished for their refinement, enterprise and talents. They have flourishing churches, supplied by pastors of their own color, in various parts of the land, embracing a large body of the truly excellent of the earth. They have public and private libraries. They have their temperance societies, their debating societies, their moral societies, their literary societies, their benevolent societies, their savings societies, and a multitude of kindred associations. They have their infant schools, their primary and high schools, their Sabbath Schools, and their Bible classes. They contribute to the support of foreign and domestic missions, to bible and tract societies, &c. In the city of Philadelphia alone, they have more than fifty different associations for their moral and intellectual improvement. In fact, they are rising up even with mountains of prejudice piled upon them, with more than Titanic strength, and trampling beneath their feet the slanders of their enemies. A spirit of virtuous emulation is pervading their ranks, from the young child to the gray head. Among them is taken a large number of daily and weekly newspapers, and of literary and scientific periodicals, from the popular monthlies up to the grave and erudite North American and American Quarterly Reviews. I have at this moment to my own paper, 'THE LIBERATOR,' one thousand subscribers among this people; and, from an occupancy of the editorial chair for more than seven years, I can testify that they are more punctual in their payments than any five hundred white subscribers whose names I ever placed indiscriminately in my subscription book. (Immense applause.)

This, Mr. Chairman, is but a rapid glance at a people, whom the American Colonization Society stigmatizes as the most abandoned wretches on the earth. Sir, having seen that that Society libels the gospel of Jesus Christ, and blasphemes the most high God, it cannot surprise us to discover that it bears false witness against the objects of its hatred and persecution.

Sir, one of this calumniated class is now on this platform. (Cheers.) He has visited this country as the Representative of the Wilberforce Settlement in Upper Canada—that little colony, which, though founded under the most appalling difficulties, is, I am happy to say, in a thriving condition. And I would here observe that it receives the prayers, and applause, and encouragement of all the abolitionists in the United States. It is opening an asylum to which many a bleeding slave has already escaped, and others will follow in their track; and by its proximity to slavery, will add much to hasten the total and speedy destruction of that iniquitous system. It has received already some assistance from the British public, and it richly deserves your sympathies, your aid, and your prayers. He, to whom I allude as its representative, is the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL, a gentleman with whom the proudest or best man on earth need not blush to associate. (Cheers.) I am proud in pointing to him as a specimen of that much injured class, out of which the American Colonization Society declares, 'no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.' I appeal to him for the truth of my statements to you this day; and I trust you will have the pleasure of hearing his testimony at the close of my remarks.

It is worthy of our inquiry to know in what light the American Colonization Society is held by the objects of its pseudo benevolence, the free people of color. Never was a scheme more heartily execrated and actively opposed: they hate it with a perfect hatred. I select a few expressions of their sentiments, as given in a multitude of public meetings all over the free States. A still later edition of their sentiments has been published, expressly in regard to my mission to England.

[Here Mr. Garrison read a large number of resolutions which had been passed by them at various periods. He then resumed:]

What, but the most dreadful persecution, can induce people, cherishing these sentiments from the first moment of the formation of the Colonization Society in 1816, down to the present time, to leave the land of their birth for a foreign one—to leave a land of civilization and christianity, for a land of barbarism, darkness and woe? Judge ye!

One word as to the practical effects of the Colonization Society. Since its organization, it has removed less than 1000 slaves, and about 2000 free persons of color. The increase of the slave population in the United is two hundred souls, daily. At least 600,000 new victims have been born and kidnapped, and nearly half a million have died in bondage, since the Colonization Society has been employed in shipping off to their African Botany Bay less than 1000!—I have brought some documents with me to this meeting, relative to the rise and progress of Liberia, which abundantly prove that there is as much truth in many of Mr. Cresson's statements respecting that colony, as there is in the tales of Munchausen, or in the story which Mahomet tells of his visit to the third heavens—and very little more; but it is impossible for me at this time to go into particulars. The British public, however, shall have the whole truth of the matter, through some medium or other. I believe that colony will be a curse, an awful curse to Africa, especially if the American Colonization Society succeed in its direful purpose of crowding her shores with a vicious and ignorant population.

The practical effects of the Colonization Society in the United States are too numerous to mention. Let this suffice—it has inflamed and sanctified the most unholy and malignant prejudices—spoken peace to the slaveholder—seared the consciences of the people as with a

hot iron—in many cases directly prevented the instruction of the free blacks—and induced the enactment of laws in nearly all the slave States, preventing emancipation without the expulsion of the emancipated, and also vexing the free blacks in the most cruel manner. Its tendency is, moreover, as we have shown, by its own confession, to make the slave system secure and lucrative.

But there is an unerring test of its real influence. 'Figures cannot lie,' says the time-honored adage. Nearly all the slave States, as well as the free States, highly applaud the Colonization Society. If, then, it be a benevolent institution, and its supporters be the determined enemies of slavery and the best friends of the free blacks, there must, of course, have been a most benevolent change effected in 17 years of powerful and unremitted exertions, in the legislation of the slave States, favorable to emancipation. This point is very instructive, because it admits of no mistake. The question then is,—Has the number of emancipations in the slave States diminished or increased since the Colonization Society was organized, as compared with preceding years? The first Census of the Population of the United States was taken in 1790, and has been taken every 10 years subsequently. To the Census, then, we make our appeal:

'In 1790, the free colored people were 20,415 in all the States south of the Potomac and the Ohio.

In 1800, they had increased to 32,604, or at the rate of 60 per cent.

In 1810, they were 52,046, an increase of 78 per cent.

In 1820, they amounted to 77,040; which is an enlargement of only 32 per cent.

In 1830, the free colored people had increased to 112,703, which is an increase of 45 per cent.

So that by comparing the 26 years before the Colonization Society was instituted, with the 14 years subsequent to its establishment, it appears that there was an average disproportion in the emancipation of slaves of 74 per cent. per annum to 32; or in other words, that the number of slaves annually liberated before the Colonization Society was formed, was at the rate of 7 to 3 emancipated since the year 1816.

According to the previous enumerations and the advances of the free colored people before the Colonization Society was formed, the free colored people in 1830, should have numbered 112,464; and in 1830, they should have increased to 244,000; whereas in 1830, they only amounted to the number which they should in ordinary course have attained in 1820.'

The American Colonization Society may therefore be fairly charged with having been the cause of the present detention in worse than Algerine bondage of hundreds of thousands of our race.

Sure I am that my appeal in behalf of my oppressed countrymen will be felt here, and in every part of this land. It is impossible that the British people, proudly standing, as they now are, upon the neck of colonial slavery—it is impossible for them to consider their work at an end, whilst there remains a human being held as a chattel under the whole heavens. And let me assure them, for their encouragement, that all is not dark or hopeless in the United States. Thousands have caught a portion of their zeal—the abolition spirit is abroad in our land, with great power, and is traversing its length and breadth, conquering and to conquer—abolition societies are formed, and multiplying, in every free section of our territory, on the principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation—four periodicals have been established expressly to maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor, and a multitude of our political and religious periodicals are now freely discussing the question of negro slavery—strong exertions are making for the repeal of all those laws which now disfranchise our free colored population, and schools are multiplying for their mental cultivation. The American Colonization Society is falling like Lucifer, never to rise again: and ere the termination of this year, I trust your hearts will be cheered with the intelligence that a National Abolition Society has been formed in the United States of America. (Cheers.)

Mr. Chairman, I have distinctly pointed out to this meeting that great BASTILE OF OPPRESSION, the American Colonization Society. I have given you a view of its dark front—of its massive walls—of its ponderous gates—and of the immense number of victims who are incarcerated in its loathsome cells, and who are making through their iron grates, signals of distress, and uttering cries for relief!—Let the British nation assail it with the battle-axe of justice; let their artillery of truth, charged to the muzzle, blaze against it; let them dig a mine under its foundation, and prepare a train for its destruction; and soon it shall be blown into countless fragments, and all its captives be set free! (Cheers.)

(To be continued.)

EXETER HALL MEETING—LONDON.

The Liberator of this morning embodies all the slanders which I uttered in England against the American Colonization Society and the United States. The speeches which were delivered at the great meeting held in Exeter Hall, and which have caused so much excitement among the colonization crusaders and their backers the mobocracy, were all taken down by a skilful and accomplished reporter, expressly for publication in this country. So far from being ashamed of my language on that memorable occasion, I gave eighty dollars for a full report of all that was then uttered by myself and others, in order that I might faithfully present it to the public on my return. I wish neither to modify nor retract a single sentence. The other speeches will follow in their regular course. To that fearless and eloquent champion of liberty,—that first of Irish patriots,—DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., the colored population of this country and their advocates are under heavy obligations for his masterly vindication of their cause, his terrible castigation of American slavery, and his withering satire upon the colonization 'humbug,' at this meeting.

Now let the enemies of freedom foam and rage!—But the secret of their malice lies in the triumphant success of my mission. Had I failed to vanquish the agent of the American Colonization Society, or to open the eyes of British philanthropists to its naked deformity, there would have been no excitement on my return. These sensitive republicans, who are so jealous of the reputation of their country, be it remembered, are the most sturdy upholders of the slave system, and the most ardent sticklers for the banishment of our free colored population to the African coast. They esteem it no disgrace to debase, lacerate, plunder and kidnap two millions of slaves, and tread upon the necks of half a million free colored citizens; but it is foul slander, in their impartial judgment, to declare before a British audience that such conduct is in the highest degree hypocritical and tyrannical. But their

iniquity is not done in a corner, nor can it be hid under a bushel; and I tell them that I will hold them up to the scorn and indignation of the world—I will stamp the brand of infamy upon their brow, which, like the mark of Cain, shall make them known and detested by the friends of freedom and humanity in every country and in every clime. 'Where there is shame, there may in time be virtue.' I have already crimsoned their cheeks with the bitter consciousness of their guilt; and through their shame I will never despair of seeing them brought to repentance. It is idle for them to bluster and threaten—they will find out, by and by, that I am a storm-proof.

If I had outraged common sense and common decency, by throwing all the guilt of our oppression upon the British government; if I had dealt in the wretched cant, that slavery was an evil entailed upon us by the mother country; if I had been as dishonest, as hypocritical, and as pusillanimous as the agent of the American Colonization Society; if I had extolled that kind of philanthropy which calls for the banishment of every man, woman and child whose skin is 'not colored like my own'; if I had asserted that the stealers of human beings in the southern States were kind, liberal and paternal in their treatment of their victims, and anxious to abolish slavery;—in short, if I had sacrificed conscience, honesty and truth upon the altar of falsehood and prejudice; why, then, the reputation of the United States would have been pure and spotless in the eyes of the English nation, and I should have received the applause, instead of the malediction of a senseless mob! But I was neither knave nor fool enough to do any such thing. I spoke the truth, in the love of the truth—the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I freely acknowledged the guilt, the awful guilt of this boasted land of liberty, in holding one sixth part of its immense population in servile chains; and besought the sympathy of the friends of bleeding humanity in England, in behalf of our afflicted slaves. Nor did I fail to tear the mask from the brow of the American Colonization Society, so that it might be feared and loathed as a monster of cruelty, violence and blood. For this cause, 'the wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to east down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of upright conversation. Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.'

ELLIOTT CRESSON.

This discomfited and erring 'representative of the American Colonization Society,' arrived at New-York a few days since, from England. A letter from a highly esteemed clergyman, residing near London, is inserted on the first page of the Liberator, giving an account of Mr. Cresson's last effort to screen himself and his cause from public reprobation; but, it seems, he could not 'screw his courage to the sticking point,' to fulfil an appointment which he made at Norwich, because he was likely to encounter one who was fully able to expose his deceitfulness.

The African Repository, for October, says very truly that 'Mr. Cresson has, besides obtaining pecuniary aid for the Society, awakened in the public mind of Great Britain a spirit of inquiry into its true character, and a disposition to judge of it with candor, that cannot fail to produce results, salutary as they will be important.' Already one result of this 'spirit of inquiry' has been the driving of Mr. Elliott Cresson from the shores of England in disgrace. This is a 'salutary' lesson and an 'important' fact. I have not yet done with this individual.

The intelligent, candid and independent editor of the Boston Recorder need give himself no uneasiness on the score of Mr. Garrison's collections in England for the Manual Labor School. Mr. G. did not solicit or receive a farthing in aid of that object—for reasons which will be fully laid before the public. Of course, there is no unkind insinuation in the disinterested remarks of the Recorder.

We are happy to receive the New-York EMANCIPATOR on a large imperial sheet. It is conducted with great talent and spirit, and is truly a powerful coadjutor in the cause of the rights of man. Its enlargement is a cheering omen of the steady growth of that good cause.

A letter from Mr. Buffum, and the proceedings of the Reading Female Anti-Slavery Society, shall appear in our next. We have on file for insertion a large number of valuable communications, which shall be published as soon as practicable.

TAKE NOTICE.

An ADDRESS ON SLAVERY will be delivered at Boylston Hall, on TUESDAY EVENING NEXT, at 7 o'clock, by the Rev. GEORGE BOURNE of New-York. The friends of emancipation are invited to attend.

Paris papers of the 21st announce the arrival of our Minister, Mr. Livingston, in that city.—It was computed that the removal of the Obelisk from Thebes to Paris, which is now prosecuting, will cost two million and an half francs.—It is positively asserted that Lord Wellesley is to be the last Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The office, when his lordship retires, is to be abolished, by which £100,000 per annum will be saved to the country.—The celebrated Sir John Stephenson, the composer of the Irish Melodies, died at Meath, on the 14th of September.—His Majesty's brig Trinculo, Lieutenant Thompson, acting as captured near the Gallena, after a chase of four hours, the Spanish schooner Segunda, with 307 slaves on board.—The cost of the projected railroad from London to Brighton, is estimated at £235,000, and the income at £125,000 a year.—The English papers speak of the harvest as a good one; a full average crop of grain has been gathered, in excellent condition.—A great military review is to take place at Verona, of the troops of Austria and Prussia. A large Austrian force, consisting of 90,000 men, with 300 pieces of cannon, is assembling in the environs of Mantua.—It is reported that the British Government has granted £1000 per annum, towards the support of the Methodist Missionaries in Canada.—It is said that Charles X and the Duchess de Angoulême have refused to receive the Duchess de Berry, or permit her to reside for a time with her children.—A Russian 74 had been beaten on the coast of Finland, and out of a crew of 750 men, 15 only were saved.—Rammohun Roy, the celebrated Brahmin, lately died at Stapleton Grove, near Bristol.

At the Boston Mutual Lyceum, West Centre-Street, the following question will be discussed on MONDAY EVENING NEXT. 'What are the best means to adopt, to remove the prejudice which exists against the people of color?'

DIED—In this city, Oct. 30, James Jackson, jr., aged 7.

THE FAIR.

The 'Garrison Juvenile Society,' under the care of Mrs. JASPER, will hold their FAIR in the Infant School Room, Belknap-street, on Wednesday the 13th inst. at 3 o'clock, P. M. At which time parents, and all persons interested, are politely invited to attend. The members of the Society are requested to be punctual in attendance. Nov. 9.

LITERARY.

REST—SWEET REST.

To the Editor the Liberator:

SIR—The following lines are the substance of a conversation held with an aged man of color, a few weeks ago, who was longing to be at rest. His trembling voice and faltering tongue gave proof that he would soon be in possession of that rest which remains 'for the people of God.' I have thrown it into rhyme, adapted to the tune, 'SWEET HOME,' hoping it might be the means of doing some good in the cause to which you are so ardently devoted. If you think them worthy a place in your paper, you are at liberty to insert them; if not, throw them under your table.

THE OLD MAN'S REST.

My rest is on high. How I long to be there,
Away from temptation, from sorrow and care;
Where waves of oppression shall never more roll,
But peace, like a river, shall flow through my soul!
Rest, Sweet Rest!

Where the wicked cease from troubling, the weary
are at rest.

I long to sit down with my Saviour at home,
Where the white man ne'er rages—the lash never
comes;

Where the finger of scorn ne'er is pointed at one,
Who's made in the image of God's only son,
Rest, Sweet Rest!

Where the wicked cease from troubling, the weary
are at rest.

I have seen the poor slave writhe under the stroke,
And heard him cry 'Mercy!' and Heaven invoke;
No mercy was there in the white man's steely
breast—

'O, God! I have said, then, 'prepare Thou a rest!
Rest, Sweet Rest!

Where the wicked cease from troubling, the weary
are at rest.

I have said, 'O that I had the wings of a dove!
I would fly from oppression to heaven above;
But checked in my wanderings, I rather will say,
The days thou appointest, I cheerfully stay.

Rest, Sweet Rest!

Where the wicked cease from troubling, the weary
are at rest.

AMELIA.

Boston, Sept. 26, 1833.

MARY MAGDALEN.

BY BRYANT.

BLESSED, yet sinful one, and broken-hearted!
The crowd are pointing at the thing forlorn,
In wonder and in scorn!
Thou wepest days of innocence departed;
Thou wepest, and thy tears have power to move
The Lord to pity and love.

The greatest of thy follies is forgiven,
Even for the least of all the tears that shine
On that pale cheek of thine.
Thou didst kneel down to him who came from heaven
Evil and ignorant, and thou shalt rise
Holy, and pure, and wise.

It is not much, that to the fragrant blossom
The ragged briar should change, the bitter fir
Distil Arabian myrrh;

Nor that, upon the wintry desert's bosom,
The harvest should rise plenteous, and the swain
Bear home the abundant grain.

But come and see the bleak and barren mountains
Thick to their tops with roses; come and see
Leaves on the dry, dead tree;

The perished plant, set out by living fountains,
Grows fruitful, and its beauteous branches rise,
Forever, towards the skies.

[From the Providence Literary Journal].

THE COMPARISON.

TO MARY.

The lovely lily of the vale,
So elegantly fair,
Whose sweets perfume each fragrant gale,
To Mary I compare.

What though on earth it lowly grows,
And strives its head to hide:
Its sweetness far outvies the rose
That flaunts with conscious pride.

The costly tulip owes its hue
To many a gaudy stain:
In this, we see the virgin white
Of innocence remain.

But mark—the FLORIST sees it bloom
In loveliness, alone;
And to preserve and cherish it,
Transplants it, as his own.

Then, while it sheds its sweets around,
Fresh glows each blooming grace:
Enraptured how its owner stands,
And views its lovely face.

But pray, dear Mary, now observe
The inference of this tale—
MAY I THE FLORIST BE—AND THOU
MY LILY OF THE VALE.

[From the Dublin University Magazine.]

SUMMER RECOLLECTIONS.

'T is sweet—'t is sweet—the summer dream
That haunts us in our winter hours:
The murmur'd music of a stream,
The voice of birds—the breath of flowers,
And the warm breeze that lightly heaves
The waters, and the whispering leaves.

There is a dream more sadly sweet,
When summer years of youth return;
And hearts, that we no more may meet,
As fondly beat, as truly burn,
And eyes weep back to us awhile,
The sadness of their parting smile.

It comes, like music heard at night,
Like dew upon the drooping flowers,
Like morn's first dawning to their sight
Who darkly dwell in icy bowers,
To him who long hath felt depart,
The light of hope and bloom of heart.

Not yet—not yet the summer bloom
Of my young heart has died away;
There is a twilight in the gloom,
A lingering smile—a farewell ray,
A hope of rapture, kindling yet,
A halo from the sun that's set!

SLAVERY.

Ah me, what wish can prosper or what prayer,
For merchants rich in cargoes of despair?
Who drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span,
And buy the muscles, and the bones of man.

Truth shall restore the light by Nature given,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of heaven:
Prone to the dust Oppression shall be hurled;
Her name, her nature, withered from the world.

CAMPBELL.

MISCELLANEOUS.

GREAT TEMPERANCE MEETING AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS.

The politeness of the Rev. Dr. Philips, of London, enables us to furnish, from the columns of the South African Commercial Advertiser, dated Cape Town, (Cape of Good Hope), Jan. 3, 1833, a most interesting account of the first anniversary of the Kat River Temperance Society, held on the 11th of December last.

On this occasion, about seven hundred persons attended, most of whom had travelled several miles from the surrounding locations, notwithstanding the unfavorable state of the weather. Among these, besides the resident Hottentots, were many Caffers, Mantatees, Uminpuas, Ghoungas, and parties of other broken Frontier tribes. A volunteer detachment of the Hottentot corps, from the military post, were also present. These having obtained permission from the commanding officer, had set out before sunrise, and walked into Philpott, a distance of 18 miles, in order to assemble with their countrymen on the occasion. The place of meeting, unfortunately could not, at the utmost, contain more than 500 individuals, so that great numbers were compelled to remain without; and although it rained nearly the whole time, the open doors and windows were constantly crowded with dark countenances, bent eagerly forward to catch the words of the speakers.

The meeting lasted six hours, and during that time the chair was addressed by no less than twenty-three native speakers. The object of most of them was to give facts from their own experience, illustrative of the evils of intemperance. One had his arm broken, another had been run over by a wagon, and a third had lost his wife. Some told, with expressions of the deepest contrition, of crimes and excesses which drink had led them to commit; and others described the delight they felt from having shaken off their old habits, and publicly declared their determination to abide by the resolutions they had formed. Nor were those resolutions formed one moment too soon. It appeared to have been a general and growing practice, before the establishment of the society, to carry all kinds of produce, and especially the hides of cattle slaughtered on the settlement, to a neighboring Fort to exchange for spirits! And a shocking inference may be drawn from the glee with which some of the speakers declared that, after disposing of their goods, they had actually returned of late with money in their pockets. The great interest manifested by the natives in the temperance cause seems to be hailed, and not without evident good reasons, by the benevolent and intelligent men of all classes in the colony, as a movement of the deepest interest. 'It is impossible,' says the editor of the Advertiser, 'to look at their lovely valleys, waving, at this moment, with an abundant harvest—to trace the numberless, well planned and extensive water-courses which traverse the sides of their bright green hills in every direction—and to observe their eagerness to obtain the means of instruction for themselves and children, without a feeling of triumphant exultation in the efficacy of that barrier which the friends of humanity have succeeded in interposing between them and the food which but so lately threatened their destruction.'

DEATH OF REV. LEMUEL HAYNES.

This eminent servant of God, died in Granville, N. Y. on the 28th of September, aged 80 years. He was born in Hartford, Conn. and brought up in a pious family in Granville, in this State. He was there converted and when he was about 27 years old, he began the work of the ministry. He preached five years in Granville, Mass.—about three years in Torrington, Conn.—nearly or quite thirty years in Rutland, Vt.—about three years in Manchester, Vt. and eleven years in the place where he died.

We shall never forget the man who is the subject of this notice. We have seen him in the pulpit and at his own house and amidst his family, and we can truly say he seemed ever like a man of God. There was something peculiarly touching in the manner in which he invited sinners to the only refuge. He was original in his ideas—gentle in his reproofs and powerful in his rebukes. His talent at satire was prodigious, and when he found it necessary to employ it, his opponents would shrink away before him and leave him master of the field. His discourse on universal salvation preached immediately after the conclusion of a sermon by Hosea Ballou, in his own pulpit, is a wonderful illustration of this remark.

Mr. Haynes was beloved by all the friends of God, and we have seen the tears flow from many eyes while listening to his addresses in the religious conference. As he resided for 30 years, within six miles of our native place, we were permitted to hear him frequently, and were always instructed and edified.

But he is gone—gone to rest 'in his glory.' May his mantle fall on some other, whose voice shall utter the warning of Jehovah as fearlessly as his in the ears of the impenitent! We know of many who will own him at the last day as their spiritual father.

But Mr. Haynes was a man of color. Had he not, therefore, a mind like that of other men? Let those who listened to his thrilling eloquence, answer! He suffered much in consequence of cruel prejudice against those of his color, but he never complained. He was a spirit which soared above such things. He knew there was a heaven of joy where differences of color would not exist, or if they did, it would be no hindrance to the intimate union of saints.

His love to the Saviour was supreme. He said while his family surrounded his bed of death, 'I love my wife—I love my children—but I love my Saviour better than all.'

And did not his Saviour love him, and fulfil his promise to him, 'I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice and your joy no man taketh from you?'

REMARKABLE COINCIDENCE. Mr Hawley published a communication in the Advertiser at Rochester, stating that on the same day Gen. Arnold died in England, the oak tree under which Messrs. Van Wart and Williams captured Major Andre in Tarrytown, was struck with lightning and shivered to pieces.

Miseries of Sickness.—It is to wake up in the morning, get half dressed and go to bed again. It is to see your servant enter with your boots nicely polished, and to feel that his labor has been bootless. It is to have the whole family rush into your room screaming 'What is the matter?' It is to see your doctor take his lancet out of his jacket pocket, and approach you with sanguinary intentions. It is to have your windpipe choked with pills, and your palate spoiled with potions. It is to have your eyes filled with camphor, and your nose with hartshorn. It is to answer the same question fifty times a day, and to see the faces of all your friends, dressed for the occasion, in sympathetic sadness. It is to be fed with a spoon, and to wax lean upon panada. It is to have the cat jump upon your bed, and parade leisurely about, without your being able to throw her out of the window. It is to have some dissipated old musqueteer make a banquet from your nose, and be too feeble to hit him. It is to have your beard grow until you look like the he-goat of Schreckhorn. And finally, if you die, it is to be spoken well of by every body, and to have your name misprinted in the newspapers.

National Mementos.—In the English House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor is seated on a wool sack, that the importance of the woollen manufacture, the great staple of that country, may be indelibly impressed on the public mind.

When the first Congress met after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, it was in contemplation, but afterwards abandoned, to have the seats of each delegation wrought with some device, descriptive of the staples of their several States, viz:

New Hampshire to be represented by a pine tree.
Massachusetts, by a barrel of fish.
Rhode Island, a hamper of cheese.
Connecticut, an ox.
New-York, a hoghead of flaxseed.
New-Jersey, a bundle of flax.
Pennsylvania, a bag of wheat.
Delaware, a bag of wool.
Maryland, pig and bar iron.
Virginia, a hoghead of tobacco.
North Carolina, a barrel of tar.
South Carolina, a bag of cotton.
Georgia, a barrel of rice.—Atlas.

BRUTALITY. We witnessed, yesterday afternoon, 23d inst., an instance of savage barbarity, the perpetrator of which shall have all the benefit that the notoriety of his inhuman act may bring. In passing from Third to Fourth-street, we perceived a young colored boy, standing by a pump near the corner of the latter street and Willing's-alley, covered with blood, which he was endeavoring to wash away from his face, but without avail, the sanguinary stream continuing to run, bubbling rapidly from his mouth and nose. On inquiring the cause of his distress, we learned that he belonged to a school of colored children in Willing's-alley, and that the 'master,' for some trifling misdemeanor, had struck him, several times in the face, with a hard and heavy ferula. The marks of this infamous cruelty were painfully manifest in his visage: his eyes were discolored, his lips and cheeks ridged and swollen, and his whole appearance betokened severe suffering. The name of the wretch who committed this excessive outrage, if we understood aright the broken words of the boy, is Edward Ritchie.—Phil. Gaz.

LITTLE ROCK, Sept. 25.—Daring Murder.—Extract of a letter to the Editor, dated Hot Springs, Sept. 19, 1833.

'Mr. Wm. Blakeley, who lived about 14 miles above the Springs, was shot dead on Tuesday night, (17th inst.) in his own house. Mr. B. was sitting by the fire, reading, when the murderer came to the door, put the muzzle of his rifle within the house, and fired; he then shut the door, and fled. Mr. B. jumped up, walked towards the bed, and fell—he lived about fifteen minutes. The ball entered his breast and passed quite through his body. A few days previous to this occurrence, Mr. Blakeley had a difficulty with one of his negroes, whilst at work in the fields. The negro ran to the house, and after furnishing himself with his master's rifle and ammunition, fled to the woods, and has not been seen since. It is presumed that the negro committed the murder. Mr. Blakeley emigrated to this country from the State of Mississippi, about 20 years ago. He was about 60 years of age.'—Arkansas Gazette.

Indian Exploit.—A letter writer from Old Town, Maine, to the Boston Journal, relates the following incident. It is not long since two boys in attempting to cross the river near a fall of ten or twelve feet deep, were carried down the current nearly to its brink, when an old Indian, named Sabbatis, started in his bark to rescue them. He reached the verge just in time to seize one of the lads by the hair, when he found himself rapidly borne down by the torrent. There was but an instant to save himself, for if his boat was swept down sideways he was sure of his fate. He grappled his paddle with the energy of desperation—set his boat in a proper direction by a single stroke—and descended the rapids in safety. The canoe was dashed in a hundred pieces before he reached the shore, but he succeeded in saving his own life and that of the child in his hand. The other was lost. Very few white men could have accomplished such a feat.—Christian Mirror.

Theory and Fact.—Mr. Isaac Orr has occupied several columns of the Washington Telegraph, in speculations upon the 'formation of the universe,' in which much inquiry and ingenuity are exhibited.

Upon the same subject we remember to have read a statement which contained a more brief and comprehensive account, both of the time, cause and manner. The time and cause are thus referred to.

'In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth.'

And with reference to the manner, the following notice was had:

'He spake and it was done; he commanded and it stood fast.'

Mr. Orr cannot disprove the assertion, nor imitate the sententious brevity of the account.—U. S. Gazette.

FURTHER TESTIMONY. The N. J. Fredonian in noticing the late Colonization Meeting in this city, winds up the story of the projected \$20,000, the speeches, &c &c., in the following triumphant manner:

'In the course of the addresses which were delivered, the projects and proceedings of the Abolitionists were severely handled.'

Just so: and the fact of their having done so, proves the truth of Mr. Garrison's charge against them, of opposing abolition; a charge indignantly repelled, not long since—nay, at this very meeting! Mr. Garrison's alleged slander of the Colonization Society to Wilberforce, could not, in the nature of the case, have gone farther to charge them with opposing abolition; and yet this, as is allowed, was the prominent sentiment of the Colonization Meeting! Cannot people see, when they expose their own shame, and contradict their own assertions?—Emancipator.

Human Activity.—A man trained to violent exercise from his childhood, is said to be capable of distancing the fleetest horses, and of continuing his course when they give up in weariness and exhaustion. His muscular power is immense, as we see daily proved by the weights raised with ease by common porters. However, the exertions of our blest pedestrians give us but a faint idea of the full power of a practiced runner. The couriers of Persia used regularly to traverse thirty leagues in the space of 14 hours, and some natives of Africa are said to be able to outstrip the lion. The savages of North America pursue the swiftest stags with such rapidity as to weary and overtake them. They have been known to travel over the most rugged and pathless mountains, a distance of 11 or 1200 leagues in six weeks or two months.

ASSOCIATION.—Every man, like Gulliver in Lilliput, is fixed to some spot on earth, by the thousand small threads which habit and association are continually throwing around him. Of these, perhaps, one of the strongest is here alluded to. When the Canadian Indians were once solicited to emigrate, 'What?' they replied, 'shall we say to the bones of our fathers, 'arise, and go with us into a foreign land?'

The late Rev. Rowland Hill being asked his opinion of the Rev. Mr. Irving, while that eccentric divine was in the zenith of his popularity, he instantly replied, 'Mr. Irving, sir, is like a sky-rocket, which goes off with a fiz, rises a few yards into the air, throws out a number of pretty little stars, makes a short pause, and then falls down again, plump, into the place from whence it arose.'

A poor laborer, having been obliged to undergo the amputation of his leg, was charged sixteen pence by the sexton for burying it. The poor fellow applied to the rector for redress, who told him he could not relieve him at that time, but that the sexton should certainly consider it in his fees, when the rest of his body was buried.

RAM AND RAZORS. A countryman sent his friend in the city for a barrel of rum, for family use, and received in addition to the rum a case of razors, with this significant remark in a letter—'One is slow and sure—the other quick and certain.'—N. Y. Gaz.

The money paid to captors of Negroes from the Slave Vessels within the last seven years has amounted to \$1,370,000.

Indigestion, according to the Almanac des Gourmands is the 'remorse of a guilty stomach.'

MORAL.

LAWS

WHICH AUTHORIZE THE TRAFFIC IN ARDENT SPIRIT AS A DRINK, MORALLY WRONG.

(Continued.)

It is now known from the evidence of facts, that more than one in ten over wide regions of country, who have used ardent spirit, and more than one in five who have mixed and sold it, have, themselves, become drunkards, and so wicked as often not to live out half their days. It is known also from the highest and most abundant medical authority, that more than one in five of the men who have habitually used it, have been killed by it; and that multitudes who were never intoxicated, and never thought in time past to be intemperate, by the habit of using it, even moderately, have shortened life many years; and that it tends in its whole influence from beginning to end, to induce and aggravate disease, and to bring all who drink it to a premature grave. There is no reason to doubt, that of the last generation in the United States, it cut off more than thirty million years of human probation, and ushered more than a million of persons, uncalled, into the presence of God.

The last year its deadly influence has been still more strongly marked, especially over those regions which have been visited by the Cholera. In the city of Albany, with a population of about twenty-five thousand, of whom three hundred and thirty-six, over sixteen years of age, died of the Cholera, of the five thousand members of Temperance Societies there were only two deaths; showing that such persons were not one fortieth part as liable to death, by that disease, as other persons. Of the rest of the population one in sixty died, while of the members of Temperance Societies, only one in twenty-five hundred.

Of about six hundred who were brought to the Park Hospital in the city of New-York, but about one in five called themselves even temperate drinkers. And many of them, after they recovered, were soon intoxicated. The number was extremely small, who died of that disease, who had not for two years used ardent spirit. Some such cases there were; but they were strongly marked exceptions to the general rule. Said a distinguished gentleman in that city, after paying special attention to this subject, 'facts abundantly authorize the conclusion, that had it not been for the sale and use of spirit, there had not been Cholera enough in the city of New-York to have caused the cessation of business for a single day.'

And says another gentleman of that city, 'a quantity of spirit was taken from a certain

store in the morning, and distributed to number of grogshops. In the evening the workmen assembled and received their accustomed quantity. The next morning one another, and another were carried by my doctor to the hospital, and in the afternoon were taken to the Potters Field. And so from day to day, disease and death followed round about, ardent spirit, seizing upon those who drank it, and hurrying them into destruction, till so obvious and striking was the connection, the consciences said, 'This will never do; the way from the grogshop to hell is too short; and abandoned the business. Others shut up their shops and fled. 'In my neighborhood,' says another gentleman, 'there was not a retailer; they were actually afraid to enter the dangers of their own business. It made the arrows of death fly so thick around them, that they dare not risk it. Had they been sure that those arrows would strike only their neighbors, they might have been willing to stay and drive the business. But when there was danger that the shafts from their engines of death would strike themselves, they closed their doors and fled. How many lives had been spared, how many families saved from ruin, and how many averted from the community, had they never returned, and their cholera manufactories remained closed forever.'

How many who were consigned the last summer to an untimely grave, and we fear to a miserable eternity, had now been in the land of the living, and prisoners of hope, had none been found reckless enough to keep such establishments open. But some there were who professed to be friends of humanity, who continued with a steady hand to deal out the poison. And as their customers might not live to come again, they sold them instantly, on the spot, what they would buy. When the husband fell, and the children were seized, they sold his widow the cause of death; and when the neighbors came to bury the children, their widowed mother, with what the rum-seller furnished her, was found intoxicated on the floor. On the day that was set apart for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, that God would spare his people and not suffer the destroyer any longer to smite them, one, lest praying, though it should not make him leave off sinning, should at least for a day deprive him of his gains, kept his liquor store open, and sold to all who would purchase, till the time for public worship. He then hastened to be in his place, and join, apparently, with devout gravity, in supplication to the Lord, that he would keep off the Cholera; and when public service was closed, he hastened again, as if to make up lost time, to his store; and spent the day in furnishing a chief cause of Cholera to all who would buy. If he did not produce as much Cholera on that day as on other days, it may be attributed, not so much to his prayers for its prevention, as to the time which they hindered him from furnishing its cause. And if prayers are answered, not according to words, but to deeds, instead of having lessened the number of the dying and the dead, he may have increased it; and they may increase too the awfulness of his retribution, when he who, on probation sells death, shall, without repentance, reap also death.

Were retailers of spirit in their own persons and families to bear all the evils which they occasion to others, they would soon close their business. Or were these evils all concentrated on the heads of legislators, they would cease to make laws which should authorize the business that produces them.

Instead of 'An act, entitled an act, to regulate the sale of spirit for the public good,' any longer disgracing the statute book and vitiating the community, they would see that the proper title for every such act, when determined by its consequences, is, 'An act for the destruction of mankind.' But would it be any more dreadful for the man who sells ardent spirit, or the man who makes the law which authorizes the sale of it, to endure these evils, than it is for the community?

Suppose a man who buys a gallon of a man authorized by law to sell it, should under its influence go into the family of the man who made the law, and for a few days take the direction, and do what he now does in his own family; break the looking-glass, turn over the tables, strike the children with the tongue, and their mother with the chairs; and to save their lives, make them flee, naked and barefoot, through the snow, to the neighbors for help; and suppose that this is a common fruit of the law which authorizes the business; would he make such a law again? And would he not raise both hands, his voice, and his heart, to have that which he has made repealed; or so modified as no longer to sanction such a business?

Or suppose again, that the intemperate appetites which the legal traffic forms, and the cases of drunkenness and death to which they lead, instead of being, as they now are, scattered through the community, should all be in the families of the legislators, of spirit vendors and their nearest friends; and that they should have to endure all the sickness and sorrows, and heart-breaking wretchedness, which they occasion, and which they would occasion to endless being, would they any longer sanction the cause? or would any one, because he could do it legally, perpetuate it? Though the evils would be no greater if they were all endured by them than when endured by others, yet who can doubt but that they would be great enough, and be felt to be great enough, to stamp the cause of them, and the sanctioning by law of the business which produces them, with everlasting abhorrence. Who can doubt, but that the licensing of such a business would, at once, universally and forever? Oh, if that would cause it to cease, and nothing else can, what an unspeakable benefit would it be to the world, and what an inestimable saving of property, character, health, reason, life and soul, to all future generations, could these evils, past, present, and to come be concentrated, and poured out, for a time, in one dark, desolating current on the heads of the legislators and vendors of spirit. But the Committee, with all their hearts, would deprecate such a thing; and rejoice with inexpressible delight, that a fellow-feeling for others' woes will certainly, unless this cause be abandoned of God, lead to the same glorious result. (To be continued.)